

CATHAY AND THE
WAY THITHER.
BEING A COLLECTION
OF MEDIEVAL NOTICES
OF CHINA
VOLUME IV

Henri Cordier



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Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China

New Edition. Volume IV: Ibn Batuta – Benedict Goës

Edited by
HENRI CORDIER

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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER

BEING A COLLECTION OF
MIEVEAL NOTICES OF CHINA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I.
CORR. INST. FRANCE

WITH A

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN
NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE

NEW EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT
OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

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VI

IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN
BENGAL AND CHINA

VI

IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN BENGAL AND CHINA

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

ABU-ABDULLAH MAHOMED, called Ibn Batuta¹, The Traveller (*par excellence*) of the Arab nation, as he was hailed by a saint of his religion whom he visited in India, was born at Tangier on the 24th February, 1304.

The duty of performing the Mecca pilgrimage must have developed the travelling propensity in many a Mahomedan, whilst in those days the power and extension of the vast freemasonry to which he belonged would give facilities for the indulgence of this propensity such as have never been known under other circumstances by any class of people². Ibn Batuta himself tells us how in the heart of China he fell in with a certain Al Bushri³, a countryman of his own from Ceuta, who had risen to great wealth and prosperity in that far country, and how at a later date (when after a short visit to his

¹ During his travels in the East he bore the name of Shams-uddîn (i, 8).

² Ricold de Monte Croce is greatly struck with the brotherly feeling among Mahomedans of his day, however strange to one another in blood: "Nam etiam loquendo ad invicem, maxime ad extraneos dicit unus alteri: 'O fili matris meæ!' Ipsi etiam nec occidunt se ad invicem nec expoliant, sed homo Sarracenus securissime transit inter quoscumque extraneos et barbaros Sarracenos" (*Pereg. Quatuor.*, p. 134).

³ iv, 282. Similar references indicate the French edition and version by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, from which I have translated.

native land the restless man had started to explore Central Africa), in passing through Segelmessa, on the border of the Sahra, he was the guest of the same Al Bushri's brother¹. "What an enormous distance lay between those two!" the traveller himself exclaims. On another occasion he mentions meeting at Brussa a certain Shaik Abd-Allah of Misr who bore the surname of *The Traveller*. This worthy had indeed made the tour of the world, as some would have it, but he had never been in China nor in the Island of Serendib, neither in Spain nor in Negroland. "I have beaten him," says Ibn Batuta, "for all these have I visited²."

He entered on his wanderings at the age of twenty-one (14th June, 1325), and did not close them till he was hard on fifty-one (in January, 1355): his career thus coinciding in time pretty exactly with that of Sir John Mandeville (1322-56), a traveller the compass of whose journeys would be deemed to equal or surpass the Moor's, if we could but believe them to be as genuine³.

Ibn Batuta commenced his travels by traversing the whole longitude of Africa (finding time to marry twice upon the road) to Alexandria, the haven of which he extols as surpassing all that he saw in the course of his peregrinations, except those of Kaulam and Calicut in India, that held by the Christians at Sudák or Soldaia in the Crimea, and the great port of Zaytún in China. After some stay at Cairo, which was then perhaps the greatest city in the world out of China⁴, he ascended

¹ iv, 377.

² ii, 321.

³ [See *Marco Polo*, ii, App. L, 13.—Sir John Mandeville, pp. 598-605.]

⁴ The traveller reports that the Plague or Black Death of 1348 carried off 24,000 souls in one day (!) in the united cities of Cairo and Misr or Fostat (i, 229); whilst in 1381 the pestilence was said to have carried off 30,000 a day. George Guccio, who heard this at Cairo in 1384, relates also of the visitation of 1348

the valley of the Nile to Syene, and passed the Desert to Aidhab on the Red Sea, with the view of crossing the latter to Mecca. But wars raging on that sea prevented this, so he retraced his steps and proceeded to visit Palestine and the rest of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus. He then performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities of his religion¹, and afterwards visited the shrine of Ali at Meshed. From this he went to Basra, and then through Khuzistan and Luristan to Ispahan, thence to Shiraz and back to Kufa and Baghdad. After an excursion to Mosul and Diarbakr, he made the pilgrimage for a second time, and on this occasion continued to dwell at Mecca for three years. When that time had elapsed he made a voyage down the Red Sea to Yemen, through which he travelled to Aden, the singular position of which city he describes correctly, noticing its dependence for water-supply upon cisterns preserving the scanty rainfall². Aden was then a place of great trade, and the residence of wealthy merchants; ships of large burden from Cambay, Tana, and all the ports of Malabar, were in its harbour³. From Aden, Ibn Batuta continued

that "according to what the then Soldan wrote to King Hugo of Cyprus, there were some days when more than 100,000 souls died in Cairo!" (*Viaggi in Terra Santa*, p. 291).

¹ Between Medina and Mecca he mentions an additional instance of the phenomenon spoken of at II, p. 262 *supra*. Near Bedr, he says, "in front of you is the Mount of the Drums (*Jibal-ul-Thabûl*); it is like a huge sand-hill, and the natives assert that in that place every Thursday night they hear as it were the sound of drums" (i, 296). [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 202 n., 207 ♣.]

² These cisterns, works of a colossal magnitude, had in the decay of Aden been buried in debris. During the last few years some of them have been cleared out and repaired, and they now form one of the most interesting sights of Aden. [They are said to have been formerly 50 in number, with a capacity of 30 million gallons. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 440 n.]

³ Aden, one of those places which nature has marked for perpetual revival, is mentioned, both by Marco Polo and by Marino Sanudo his contemporary, as the great entrepôt of that

his voyage down the African coast, visiting Zaila, Makdashau (Magadoxo of the Portuguese), Mombasa, and Quiloa in nearly nine degrees of south latitude. From this he sailed to the coast of Oman, where, like Marco Polo, he remarks the surprising custom of feeding cattle

part of the Indian commerce which came westward by Egypt, but neither apparently had accurate acquaintance with the route. The former says that "Aden is the port to which the Indian ships bring all their merchandize. It is then placed on board other small vessels *which ascend a river about seven days*, at the end of which it is disembarked, laden on camels, and conveyed thirty days further. It then comes to the river of Alexandria, and is conveyed down to that city." Marino, after speaking of the route by the Persian Gulf, and the three ports of Hormuz, Kis, and Basra, goes on: "The fourth haven is called Ahaden, and stands on a certain little island, joining as it were to the main, in the land of the Saracens; the spices and other goods from India are landed there, loaded on camels, and so carried by a journey of nine days to a place on the river Nile called Chus, where they are put into boats and conveyed in fifteen days to Babylon (Cairo). But in the month of October and thereabouts the river rises to such an extent that the spices, etc., continue to descend the stream from Babylon, and enter a certain long canal, and so are conveyed over the two hundred miles between Babylon and Alexandria." (*Polo*, ii, c. 36; *Mar. San. Liber Fidelium Crucis*, pt. i, c. 1.)

Here we see that Marco apparently took the Red Sea for a river, misled perhaps by the ambiguity of the Persian *Darva*. In the MS. followed by Pauthier, Marco makes no such mistake as is here referred to. See Pauthier's edition, p. 703. And Marino supposes, as his map also shows, Aden to be on the *west* side of the Red Sea, confounding it probably with *Suákin*, which was also a port of embarkation for India *via* Egypt, as I gather from a MS. of the fourteenth century at Florence on the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas. The *Chus* of Marino is *Kús*, the ancient *Cos* or *Apollinopolis Parva*, between Keneh and Luxor, described by Ibn Batuta (i, 106) as in his day a large and flourishing town, with fine bazaars, mosques, and colleges, the residence of the viceroys of the Thebaid. That traveller embarked at Kus to descend the Nile, after his first visit to Upper Egypt. It is nearly in the latitude of Kosseir. The *Carta Catalana* calls Kosseir *Chos*, and notes it as the place where the Indian spicery was landed. [At the time of Chau Ju-kua, Aden was perhaps the most important port of Arabia for the African and Arabian trade with India and the countries beyond. It seems highly probable that the Ma-li-pa of the Chinese must be understood as including Aden—of which they make no mention whatsoever, but which was one of "the great commercial centres of the Arabs." Hirth and Rockhill, p. 25 n.] [See Ma Huan's *Account of Aden* in *J. R. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 348; the Chinese Traveller does not mention the cisterns.]

of all sorts upon small fish. After visiting the chief cities of Oman he proceeded to Hormuz, or New Hormuz as he calls the city on the celebrated Island. The rock-salt found here, he observes, was used in forming ornamental vases and pedestals for lamps, but the most remarkable thing that he saw at Hormuz appears to have been a fish's head so large that men entered by one eye and went out by the other¹.

After visiting Kais or Kísh he crossed the Gulf to Bahrain, Al-Kathif, and Hajr or Al-Hasa (or *Al-Ahsa*, v. *supra*, III, p. 65), where dates were so abundant that there was a proverb about carrying dates to Hajr, like ours of coals to Newcastle. Thence he crossed Central Arabia through what is now the Wahabi country, but without giving a single particular respecting it, and made the Mecca pilgrimage again. He then embarked at Jiddah, landed on the opposite coast, and made a journey of great hardship to Syene, whence he continued along the banks of the Nile to Cairo.

After this he revisited Syria, and made an extensive journey through the petty Turkish sultanates into which Asia Minor was then divided². During this tour he tells

¹ Whales (I believe of the *Spermaceti* genus) are still not uncommon in the Arabian Sea. Abu Zaid mentions that in his time about Siraf their vertebræ were used as chairs, and that houses were to be seen on the same coast, the rafters of which were formed of whale's ribs. (Reinaud, *Relations*, p. 146.) I remember when in parts of Scotland it was not unusual to see the gate-posts of a farm-yard formed of the same.

² There were at least eleven of these principalities in Asia Minor, after the fall of the [Seldjukid] kingdom of Iconium in 1308 (Deguignes, iii, pt. ii, p. 76). [Konieh, Iconium, ancient Lycaonia, dynasty of Benu Karaman, 1223-1472; Kastamuni, Paphlagonia, dynasty of Kizil Ahmedlis, 1289-1459; Menteshé, Caria, dynasty of Benu Menteshé, 1300-1426; Aidin, Lydia, dynasty of Benu Sarukhan, 1313-1426; Tekkeh, Lycia, 1300-1427; Hamid, Pisidia, 1300-81; Kermian, Phrygia, 1300-1429; Karasi, Mysia, 1300-36; Abulustein, dynasty of Benu Dhu'lkadr, 1336-1521; Adanah, dynasty of Benu Ramadhan, 1378-1562, and Kingdom of Osmanlis or Othman in Phrygia.]

us how he and his comrade engaged a certain Hajji who could speak Arabic as servant and interpreter. They found that he cheated them frightfully, and one day, provoked beyond measure, they called out to him, "Come now, Hajji, how much hast thou stolen to-day?" The Hajji simply replied, "So much," naming the amount of his plunder. "We could but laugh and rest content," says our traveller.

He then crossed the Black Sea to CAFFA, chiefly occupied, as he tells us, by the Genoese (*Janwiya*), and apparently the first Christian city in which he had found himself, for he was in great dismay at the bell-ringing. He went on by KRIM (or Solghat) and AZOV to MAJAR, a fine city on a great river (the Kuma), where he was greatly struck by the consideration with which women were treated by the Tartars; as if, in fact, creatures of a higher rank than men. From this he proceeded to the camp of Sultan Mahomed Uzbek, Khan of Kipchak [1312-40], then pitched at BISHDAGH, a thermal spring, apparently at the foot of Caucasus¹. He was well received by the Khan, and obtained from him a guide to conduct him to the city of BOLGHAR, which he was anxious to visit in order to witness with his own eyes the shortness of the northern summer night². He

¹ This place, according to Defrémery (*Journ. As.*, July-Sept. 1850, p. 159), still exists as Besh Tau, and was visited by Klaproth.

Bolghar, sometimes called Bolar, is in 54° 54', nearly the latitude of Carlisle. It stood near the left bank of the Atil or Volga, about fifty miles above the modern Simbirsk and ninety miles south-west of Kazan. It was sometimes the residence of the khans of Kipchak. There was still a village called Bolgari on the site when Pallas wrote; and there are a considerable number of architectural remains. On these Hammer Purgstall refers to Schmidt's '*Architektonische Umrissse der Ruinen Bolgars*, 1832' (Pallas, *Fr. Trans.*, year 11, i, 217; *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 8; Reinaud's *Abulfeda*, ii, p. 81; [*Marco Polo*, i, p. 7 n.; ii, p. 486 n.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, p. 82]).

was desirous also to go north from Bolghar to the *Land of Darkness*, of which he had heard still more wonderful things; but this he gave up on account of the many difficulties, and returned to the sultan's camp, which he then followed to HAJ-TARKHAN (Astrakhan).

One of the wives of Mahomed Uzbek was a Greek princess of Constantinople, whom the traveller calls the *Khátún* or Lady Beyálún (*Philumena?* or *Iolanthe?* At iii, 10, it is written *Beilún*), and she was now about to pay a visit to her own people¹. Ibn Batuta was allowed to join the cortège. Their route seems to have been singularly devious, leading them by UKAK² ten days above Sarai, near the "Hills of the Russians," described as a fair-haired, blue-eyed, but ugly and crafty race of Christians, thence to the port of SOLDAIA (perhaps with the intention of going by sea) and then by land the whole way to Constantinople, where they were received in

¹ These marriages appear to have been tolerably frequent as the Greek emperors went down in the world, though the one in question does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Thus Húlakú having demanded in marriage a daughter of Michael Palæologus, a natural daughter of the emperor, Mary by name, was sent in compliance with this demand: Húlakú was dead when she arrived in Persia, but she was married to his successor, Abaka Khan. The Mongols called her *Despina Khatun* (Δέσποινα). An illegitimate sister of the same emperor, called Euphrosyne, was bestowed on Nagaia Khan, founder of a small Tartar dynasty on the Greek frontier; and another daughter of the same name in 1265 on Tulabuka, who twenty years later became Khan of Kipchak. Andronicus the Elder is said to have given a young lady who passed for his natural daughter to Gházán Khan of Persia, and a few years later his sister Mary to Gházán's successor, Oljaïtu, as well as another natural daughter Mary to Tuktuka Khan of Kipchak. Also in the genealogy of the Comneni of Trebizond we find two daughters of the Emperor Basil married to Turkish or Tartar chiefs, and daughters of Alexis III, Alexis IV, and John IV making similar marriages. (D'Ohsson, iii, 417, and iv, 315, 318; Deguignes, i, 289; Hammer, *Gesch. der Ilchane*; Preface to *Ibn Batuta*, tom. ii, p. x; Art. *Comneni* in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*)

² Ukaka or Ukek and Majár have already been mentioned at iii, p. 84, *supra*. The ruins of Majár exist and have been described by Klaproth (Defrémery in *J. As.*, 1850, p. 154).

great state, the emperor (Andronicus the Younger) and empress coming out to meet their daughter, and the whole population crowding to see the show, while the bells rang till the heavens shook with the clangour. He tells us how, as he passed the city gate in the lady's train, he heard the guards muttering to one another *Sarakínú ! Sarakínú !* a name, says he, by which they called Mussulmans.

It is curious to find the name *Istambul* in use a century and more before the Turkish conquest¹. Thus he tells us the part of the city CONSTANTINIA, on the eastern side of the river (the Golden Horn), where the emperor and his courtiers reside, is called *Istambul*, whilst the other side is called Galata, and is specially assigned to the dwellings of the Frank Christians, such as Genoese, Venetians (*Banádikah*), people of Rome (*Ahil-Rúmah*), and of France (*Ahil-Afránsah*).

After a short stay at the Greek city, during which he had an interview with the Emperor Andronicus the Elder, whom he calls King George (*Jirjis*), and after

¹ But even in the ninth century Mas'ūdī says that the Greeks never called their city Constantinia but *Bolín* (πόλιν = *Town* of the Londoner), and, when they wished to speak of it as the capital of the empire, *Stambolín* (εἰς τὴν πόλιν); and he speaks of these as very old appellations. Indeed the name applied by the Chinese to the Roman Empire in the time of Heraclius (*Folin*) argues that the former term was then in familiar use. In the century following Ibn Batuta, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo says that the Greeks called their city, not Constantinople, but *Escomboli* (probably misread for *Estomboli*); and his contemporary Schiltberger tells us the Greeks called it *Istimboli*, but the Turks *Stambol*.

The Orientals found other etymologies for the name. Thus Sadik Isfahani declares that *Istanbul* signifies in the Turkish language, "You will find there what you will!" And after the capture of the city, some of the sultans tried to change the name to *Islámbul*.

There are several other names in modern use which have been formed in the same way; e.g. *Isnicmid* from εἰς Νικομήδειαν, *Setines* from εἰς Ἀθήνας. (Jacquet in *Jour. As.*, ix, 459, etc.; Markham's *Clavijo*, p. 47; Schiltberger, p. 136; *Geog. Works of Sadik Isfahani* by J. C., 1832, pp. 7, 8, and note.)

receiving a handsome present from the princess¹, he went back to Uzbek at Sarai, and thence took his way across the desert to Khwarizm and Bokhara, whence he went to visit the Khan 'Aláuddín Tarmashírín of the Chagatai dynasty. His travels then extended through Khorasan and Kabul, including a passage of the Hindu Kush. This appears to have been by ANDERAB (which he calls *Andar*), and so by PANCHSHIR (see *supra*, II, p. 263) to PARWÂN and CHAREKAR (*Charkh*). It is remarkable that between Anderab and Parwân Ibn Batuta speaks of passing the Mountain of PASHAI, probably the Pascia of Marco Polo, which Pauthier seems thus justified in identifying with a part of the Kafir country of the Hindu Kush (*Livre de M. Pol*, p. 123)². He then proceeded to Sind, reaching the Indus, probably somewhere below Larkhana, according to his own statement, on the 12th September, 1333. Here he terminates the First Part of his narrative.

Proceeding to SIWASTÁN (Sehwán) he there met with a brother theologian, 'Alá-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of the district at the mouth of the Indus, and after having travelled with him to LAHARI, a fine place on the shore of the ocean, he then turned

¹ Part of this consisted of three hundred pieces of gold called *Albarbarah* (Hyperperæ), the gold of which was bad, he observes. It was indeed very bad, for Pegolotti, if I understand him aright, says these "*perperi*" contained only 11 carats of gold to 6 of silver and 7 of copper (p. 23).

² [*Marco Polo*, i, pp. 164-6 n.] The name appears still more exactly in another passage of Marco Polo, where he describes the invasion of India by the Mongol prince whom he calls Nogodar. ["He left his uncle who was then in Greater Armenia, and fled with a great body of horsemen, cruel unscrupulous fellows, first through Badashan, and then through another province called Pashai-Dir, and then through another called Ariora-Keshemur. There he lost a great number of his people and of his horses, for the roads were very narrow and perilous." *Marco Polo*, i, p. 98.] Remarks on the Passes of Hindu Kush will be found in the introduction to Goës, *infra*.

northward to BAKAR, UJAH¹, and MULTAN, where he found assembled a large party of foreigners all bent on seeking their fortunes in India, and waiting at the frontier city for invitations from the liberal sovereign of Hindustan.

This was Mahomet Tughlak, originally called Juna Khan, whose contradictory qualities are painted by Ibn Batuta quite in accordance with the account of Firishta. The latter describes him² as the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; gallant in the field and inured to war; admired for his compositions in prose and verse; well versed in history, logic, mathematics, medicine, and metaphysics; the founder of hospitals for the sick and of refuges for widows and orphans; profuse in his liberality, especially to men of learning. But with all this he was wholly devoid of mercy and of consideration for his people; the murderer of his father³

¹ *Lahari* is still known as Lāhori or "Larry Bunder," though it has disappeared from our recent maps. It stands on the western or Pitti branch of the Indus delta. *Bakār* is Bakhar or Bukkur, the fort in the Indus between Sakkar and Rohri, where the Indus was bridged for Lord Keane's army by Major George Thomson in 1838. *Ujah* is Uchh [High Place] on [the south bank of the Sutlej opposite its confluence with] the Chenāb, below Bahāwalpūr.

² Briggs' *Firishta*, i, 411-12; see also Elphinstone, ii, 60.

³ As the story is told by Ibn Batuta after the relation of an eyewitness, Mahomed had prepared, for the reception of his father on his return from a campaign, a pavilion on the banks of a stream near Delhi. This pavilion was artfully constructed with the assistance of Ahmed son of Ayas the Inspector of Buildings, so that when approached on a certain side by the weighty bodies of elephants the whole would fall. After the king had alighted and was resting in the pavilion with his favourite son Mahmud, Mahomed proposed that the whole of the elephants should pass in review before the building. When they came over the fatal spot the structure came down on the heads of Tughlak Shāh and his young son. After intentional delay the ruins were removed, and the king's body was found bending over that of his boy as if to shield him [1324]. It was carried to Tughlakābad, and laid in the tomb which he had built for himself. This still stands, one of the simplest and grandest monuments of Mahomedan antiquity, rising from the middle of what is now a swamp, but was then a lake. It is said that the parricide Mahomed is also buried therein. This strange

and of his brother, he was as madly capricious, as cruel, bloodthirsty, and unjust as Nero or Caligula. Incensed at anonymous pasquinades against his oppressions, he on one occasion ordered the removal of the seat of government, and of all the inhabitants of Delhi, to Daulatābād in the Dekkan¹, forty days' journey distant; and after the old city had been gradually reoccupied, and he had himself re-established his court there for some years, he repeated the same mad caprice a second time². "So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the species altogether. No single week passed without his having put to death one or more of the learned and holy men who surrounded him, or some of the secretaries who attended him." Or as Ibn Batuta pithily sums up a part of the contradictions of his character, there was no day that the gate of his palace failed to witness the elevation of some abject to affluence, the torture and murder of some living soul³. Mahomed formed great schemes of conquest, and carried out some of them. His mad projects for the invasion of Khorasan and of China came to nothing, or to miserable disaster, but

story of the murder of Tughlak Sháh is said to have been re-enacted in our own day (1841 or 1842), when Nao Nihal Singh, the successor of Ranjít, was killed by the fall of a gateway as he entered Lahore.

Ahmed Bin Ayas, the engineer of the older murder, became the Wazir of Mahomed, under the titles of Malik-Záda and Khwāja Jahán. (*Ibn Bat.*, iii, 213-14.)

¹ A description of the prodigious scale on which the new city, which was to be called the *Capital of Islam*, was projected and commenced, is given by an eyewitness in the *Masālak-al-Absār*, translated in *Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 172.

² Briggs, pp. 420-2; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 314. Elphinstone says the move was made three times (ii, 67). If so, I have overlooked it in Briggs.

³ Briggs, pp. 411-12; *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 216.

within the bounds of India he was more successful, and had at one time subjected nearly the whole of the Peninsula. In the end, however, nearly all his conquests were wrested from him, either by the native king or by the revolt of his own servants. Respecting this king and the history of his reign, Ibn Batuta's narrative gives many curious and probably truthful details, such subjects being more congenial to his turn of mind than the correct observation of facts in geography or natural history, though even as regards the former his statements are sufficiently complicated by his contempt for chronological arrangement.

After a detention of two months at Multān, Ibn Batuta was allowed to proceed, in company with the distinguished foreigners, for whom invitations to the court arrived. The route lay by ABOHAR in the desert, where the Indian, as distinguished from the Sindian provinces commenced, the castle of ABŪ BAKHR, AJUDAHAN, SARSATI, HANSI, MASUDABAD, and PALAM, to DELHI¹. The city, or group of cities, which then bore

¹ I cannot trace Abū Bakhr. *Ajudin* [Ajodhan] or *Pāk Pattan* (The Pure or Holy Ferry) is a town on the right bank of the Sutlej valley, about half-way between Bahāwalpūr and Firuzpūr, the site of a very sacred Mahomedan shrine [the saint Shaik-ul-Islām, Farid-ul-Hakkwa-ud-Dīn, Shakar Ganj (1173-1265)], for the sake of which Timur on his devastating march spared the few persons found in the town [1398]. *Abohar* is a town in the desert of Bhattiāna, some sixty miles east of Ajudin. [Uboh-har or "the pool of Uboh" after the wife of Jaura, the founder of the town.] The narrative brings Ibn Batuta to Abohar first, and then to Abū Bakhr and Ajodin, and I have not ventured to change the order; but this seems to involve a direct retrogression. *Sarsati* [or *Sarsūti*] is the town now called Sirsa on the verge of the Desert [on the north side of a dry bed of the Ghaggar]. *Hansi* retains its name as the chief town of an English Zillah. Sixty years ago [in 1798] it was the capital of that singular adventurer George Thomas, who raised himself from being a sailor before the mast to be the ruler of a small Indian principality. *Alasudabad* I do not know; it must have been in the direction of the modern Bahādargarh. *Palam* still exists, a few miles west of the Delhi of those days, to one of the gates of which it gave its name.

the latter name did not occupy the site of the modern capital built by Sháh Jahán in the seventeenth century, but stood some ten miles further south, in a position of which the celebrated Kutb Minar may be taken as the chief surviving landmark.

The king was then absent at Kanauj, but on hearing of the arrival of Ibn Batuta with the rest, he ordered an assignment in his behalf of three villages, producing a total rent of 5000 silver dinars, and on his return to the capital received the traveller kindly, and gave him a further present of 12,000 dinars, with the appointment of Kazi of Delhi, to which a salary of the same amount was attached¹.

Ibn Batuta continued for about eight years in the service of Mahomed Sháh, though it seems doubtful how far he was occupied in his judicial duties. Indeed, he describes Delhi, though one of the grandest cities in the Mahomedan world, as nearly deserted during his residence there. The traveller's good fortune seems only to have fostered his natural extravagance; for at an early period of his stay at the capital he had incurred debts to the amount of 55,000 dinars of silver, which, after long importunity, he got the Sultan to pay. Indeed, by his own account, he seems to have hung like a perfect horse-leech on the king's bounty.

When Mahomed Tughlak was about to proceed to Maabar to put down an insurrection², Ibn Batuta expected

¹ Respecting the value of these dinars, see Note A at the end of this Introduction. The three villages assigned to the traveller lay at sixteen koss from Delhi, he says, and were called *Badli*, *Basahí*, and *Balarah*. They lay in the *Sadi* or Hundred of *Hindú-but* (or the Hindu Idol; so Defrémery reads it, but the original as he gives it seems rather to read *Hindabat*, and may represent *Indrapat*, the name of one of the old cities of Delhi still existing. Probably the villages could be identified on the Indian Atlas). Two were added later, *Jauzah* and *Malikpúr*.

² This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of the Sharif Jalal-uddín Ahsan in Maabar. The French editors, in

to accompany him, and prepared an outfit for the march on his usual free scale of expenditure¹. At the last moment, however, he was ordered, nothing loth, to remain behind and take charge of the tomb of Sultan Kutb-uddín, whose servant the Sultan had been, and for whose memory he professed the greatest veneration². He renewed his personal extravagances, spending large sums which his friends had left in deposit with him, and reviling those who were mean enough to expect at least a portion to be repaid! One who scattered his own money and that of his friends so freely was not likely to be backward

the careful chronological table of the events of Mahomed's reign which is embraced in their Preface to the third volume, place this expedition in 1341-2. The sultan fell ill at Warangol [Warangal, 86 miles north-east of Hyderābād City], and returned speedily to Daulatābād [district of Aurangābād, Hyderābād State, or Deogiri, Mohammed Tughlak had the idea of making it his capital] and Delhi.

¹ His account of the outfit required by a gentleman travelling in India shows how little such things have changed there in five hundred years, say from 1340 to 1840. (Now they are changing!) He mentions the set of tents and *saiwāns* (or canvas enclosure walls) to be purchased; men to carry the tents on their shoulders (this is never the practice now); the grass cutters to supply the horses and cattle with grass; the bearers (*kahāron*) to carry the kitchen utensils on their shoulders, and also to carry the traveller's palankin; the *farāshes* to pitch his tents and load his camels; the runners to carry torches before him in the dark. Moreover he tells us he had paid all these people nine months' wages beforehand, which shows that the "system of advances" was in still greater vigour than even now.

The French translators do not recognize the word *kahāron*, putting "*gohars*?" as a parenthetic query. But it is still the ordinary name of the caste of people (*Kahārs*) who bear palankins or carry burdens on a yoke over one shoulder, and the name is one of the few real Indian words that Ibn Batuta shows any knowledge of. I think the only others are *tatú* [*tattu*] for a pony; *Jauhri* (for *Chaudri*), "the Shaikh of the Hindus," as he explains it; *Sáha*, as the appellation of a certain class of merchants at Daulatābād, a name (*Sahá*) still borne extensively by a mercantile caste; *Katri* (*Kshatri*) as the name of a noble class of Hindus; *Jogi*; *morah* [*morhā*], a stool; *kishri* [*khichrī*] (for *kichari*, vulgo *kedgerie*, well known at Indian breakfasts); and some names of fruits and pulses (iii, 415, 427; 207; 388; iv, 49, 51; ii, 75; iii, 127-31).

² This was Kutb-uddín Mubārak Sháh, son of 'Aláuddin, murdered by his minister Khosrú in 1320.

when his hand had found its way into the public purse. The account he gives of the establishment he provided for the tomb placed under his charge is characteristic of his magnificent ideas. "I established in connexion with it one hundred and fifty readers of the Koran, eighty students, and eight repeaters, a professor, eighty *sufis*, or monks, an imam, muezzins, reciters selected for their fine intonation, panegyrists, scribes to take note of those who were absent, and ushers. All these people are recognized in that country as *alarbáb*, or gentlemen. I also made arrangements for the subordinate class of attendants called *alhášhiyah*, or menials¹, such as footmen, cooks, runners, water-carriers, sherbet-men, betelmen, sword-bearers, javelin-men, umbrella-men, handwashers, beadles, and officers. The whole number of people whom I appointed to these employments amounted to four hundred and sixty persons. The Sultan had ordered me to expend daily in food at the tomb twelve measures of meal and an equal weight of meat. That appeared to me too scanty an allowance; whilst, on the other hand, the total revenue in grain allowed by the king was considerable. So I expended daily thirty-five measures of meal, an equal weight of butcher-meat, and quantities in proportion of sugar, sugar-candy, butter, and pawn. In this way I used to feed not only the people of the establishment, but all comers. There was great famine at the time, and this distribution of food was a great alleviation of the sufferings of the people, so that the fame of it spread far and wide."

Towards the end of his residence in India he fell for a time into great disfavour, the cause of which he relates in this way:

¹ *Rabb*, Dominus, Possessor, pl. *arbáb*; *Hhášhiyah*, ora vestis vel alius rei, inde domestici, asseclæ (Freytag in vv).

There was at Delhi a certain learned and pious shaikh called Shihab-uddīn the son of Aljām the Khorasani, whom Sultan Mahomed was desirous of employing in his service, but who positively refused to enter it. On this the king ordered another doctor of theology, who was standing by, to pull out the shaikh's beard, and on his declining the office, the ruffian caused the beards of both to be plucked out! Shaikh Shihab-uddīn retired from the city and established himself in a country place some miles from Delhi, where he amused himself by forming a large cave, which he fitted up with a bath, supplied by water from the Jumna, and with other conveniences. The Sultan several times sent to summon him, but he always refused to come, and at length said in plain words that he would never serve a tyrant. He was then arrested and brought before the tyrant himself, brutally maltreated, and finally put to death.

Ibn Batuta's curiosity had induced him to visit the shaikh in his cavern before this happened, and he thus incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Sultan. Four slaves were ordered to keep him under constant surveillance, a step which was generally followed before long by the death of the suspected individual. Ibn Batuta, in his fear, betook himself to intense devotion and multiplied observances, among others to the repetition of a certain verse of the Koran 33,000 times in the day! The surveillance being apparently relaxed, he withdrew altogether from the public eye, gave all that he possessed to darveshes and the poor (he says nothing about his creditors), and devoted himself to an ascetic life under the tutelage of a certain holy shaikh in the neighbourhood of Delhi, called Kamal-uddīn Abdallah of the Cave, with whom he abode for five months. The king, who was

then in Sind¹, hearing of Ibn Batuta's reform, sent for him to camp. He appeared before the Lord of the World (as Mahomed was called) in his hermit's dress, and was well received. Nevertheless, he evidently did not yet consider his head at all safe, for he redoubled his ascetic observances. After forty days, however, the king summoned him again, and announced his intention of sending him on an embassy to China. According to Ibn Batuta's dates this appears to have been in the spring of 1342.

The object of the proposed embassy was to reciprocate one which had arrived at court from the Emperor of China. The envoys had been the bearers of a present to Sultan Mahomed, which consisted of 100 slaves of both sexes, 500 pieces of *cammucca*², of which 100 were of the fabric of Zaitún and 100 of that of King-sze, five maunds of musk, five robes broided with pearls, five quivers of cloth of gold, and five swords³. And the professed object of the mission was to get leave to rebuild an idol temple (Buddhist, doubtless) on the borders of the mountain of KARACHIL, at a place called SAMHAL, whither the Chinese used to go on pilgrimage, and which had been destroyed by the Sultan's troops⁴.

¹ This must have been on the occasion of the revolt of Shahú the Afghan at Multán, who murdered the viceroy of the province and tried to set himself up as king. Though Defrémery's chronological table does not mention that Sultan Mahomed himself marched to the scene of action, and Ibn Batuta only says that "the Sultan made preparations for an expedition against him," as the revolt is placed in this very year 1342, it is probable that he had advanced towards Multán (iii, pp. xxi and 362), which according to the view of Ibn Batuta was a city of Sind.

² See note, III, p. 155, *supra*.

³ ["A hundred Mamlûks, fifty slave girls, five hundred dresses of El Kamanjah, five hundred maunds of musk, five dresses wrought with jewels, five quivers wrought with gold, and five swords with jewels." (Lee, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 153.)]

⁴ It is interesting to find this indication that perhaps the pilgrimages of the Chinese Buddhists to the ancient Indian holy places were still kept up, but it may have been only the Tibetan subjects of the Great Khan who maintained the practice.

Mahomed's reply was that it was not admissible by the principles of his religion to grant such a demand, unless in favour of persons paying the poll-tax as subjects of his Government. If the Emperor would go through the form of paying this he would be allowed to rebuild the temple¹.

The embassy, headed by Ibn Batuta, was to convey this reply, and a return present of much greater value than that received. This was composed of 100 high-bred horses caparisoned, 100 male slaves, 100 Hindu girls accomplished in song and dance, 100 pieces of the stuff called *bairami* (these were of cotton, but matchless

In our own day I have seen such at Hardwār, who had crossed the Himalaya, from *Mahachin* as they said, to visit the holy flame of Jawālamukhi in the Punjab. *Karachil* is doubtless a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kuverachal*, a name of Mount Kailās, where lies the city of Kuvera the Indian Plutus, and is here used for the Himalaya. In another passage the author describes it as a range of vast mountains, three month's journey in extent, and distant ten days from Delhi, which was invaded by M. Tughlak's army in a most disastrous expedition (apparently the same which Firishhta describes as a project for the invasion of China, though Ibn Batuta does not mention that object). He also speaks of it as the source of the river which flowed near Amroha (in the modern district of Morādābād, probably the Ramgunga; iii, 326; ii, 6; iii, 437). The same name is found in the form *Kalārchal*, applied to a part of the Himalaya by Rashīd, or rather perhaps by Al-Birūni, whom he appears to be copying. This author distinguishes it from *Harmakūt* (*Hema-Kuta*, the Snow Peaks, one form of the name Himalaya), in which the Ganges rises, and says that the eternal snows of Kalarchal are visible from *Tākas* (Taxila?) and Lahore (Elliot's *Mah. Historians*, p. 30). *Samhal* is probably *Sambhal*, an ancient Hindu city of Rohilkhand (perhaps the *Sapolus* of Ptolemy?), also in Zillah Morādābād. From other passages I gather that the *province* was called Sambhal at that time, and indeed so it was up to the time of Sultan Baber, when it formed the government of his son Humāyūn. I do not find that Sambhal itself has been recognized as the site of Buddhist remains, but very important remains of that character have been examined by Major-Gen. Cunningham, following the traces of Hiuen Tsang, at various places immediately to the north of Sambhal, and one of these may have been the site of the temple in question.

¹ The *Jezia* or "poll-tax...was imposed, during the early conquests, on all infidels who submitted to the Mahomed rule, and was the test by which they were distinguished from those who remained in a state of hostility" (Elphinstone, ii, 457). Its abolition was one of the beneficent acts of Akbar, but Aurang-zib imposed it again.

in quality)¹, 100 pieces of silk stuff called *juz*, 100 pieces of stuff called *salatuyah*, 100 pieces of *shirinbaf*, 100 of *shanbaf*, 500 of woollen stuff (probably shawls), of which 100 were black, 100 white, 100 red, 100 green, 100 blue; 100 pieces of Greek linen, 100 cloth dresses, a great state tent and six pavilions, four golden candlesticks and six of silver, ornamented with blue enamel; six silver basins, ten dresses of honour in brocade², ten caps, of which one was broidered with pearls; ten quivers of brocade, one with pearls; ten swords, one with a scabbard wrought in pearls; gloves broidered with pearls; and fifteen eunuchs.

His colleagues in this embassy were the Amir Zahír-uddín the Zinjani, a man of eminent learning, and the Eunuch Kāfūr (Camphor) the Cup-bearer, who had charge of the presents. The Amír Mahomed of Herat was to escort them to the place of embarkation with 1000 horse, and the Chinese ambassadors, fifteen in number, the chief of whom was called Tursi³, joined the party with about 100 servants.

¹ Probably Dacca muslins. *Beirami* is a term for certain white Indian cloths we find used by Varthema, Barbosa, and others, and in Milburn's *Oriental Commerce* we have the same article under the name *Byrampaut* (i, 268). The *Shanbaf* is no doubt the Sinabaffi of Varthema, but more I cannot say. ["1669. A sort of cloth called *Byramy* resembling Holland cloths." (F. C. Danvers and W. Foster, *Letters received by the E. I. Co.*, i, 29.)

Shirinbaf, Pers. *Shīrīnbaf*, "sweet wool," a fine light stuff or cotton whereof the Moors make their cabayes or clothing. (Danvers, *l. c.*, i, 29.)

Shanbaf, *Sinabaffs* [Varthema] is identified by Badger, quoted by Sir G. Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, p. 153, with *sina-bafta*, "China-woven" cloths.]

² Mahomed Tughlak maintained an enormous royal establishment (analogous to the Gobelins) of weavers in silk and gold brocade, to provide stuffs for his presents, and for the ladies of the palace (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 183).

³ ["With whom there was a great Emir," Lee, p. 155.] A statesman called *Turshi* was chief minister in China with great power, a few years after this, in 1347-8 (De Mailla, ix, 584). It is, however, perhaps not probable that this was the same

The king had apparently returned to Delhi before the despatch of the party, for the latter set out from that city on the 22nd July, 1342. Their route lay at first down the Doab as far as Kanauj, but misfortunes began before they had got far beyond the evening shadow of the Kutb Minar. For whilst they were at KOL (Koel or Aligarh, eighty miles from Delhi), having complied with an invitation to take part in relieving the neighbouring town of JALĀLĪ from the attack of a body of Hindus¹, they lost in the fight twenty-five horsemen and fifty-five foot-men, including Kāfūr the Eunuch. During a halt which ensued, Ibn Batuta, separating from his companions, got taken prisoner, and though he escaped from the hands of his captors, did not get back to his friends for eight days, during which he went through some curious adventures. The party were so disheartened by these inauspicious beginnings that they wished to abandon the journey; but, in the meantime, the Sultan had despatched his Master of the Robes, the Eunuch Sanbul (*Spikenard*), to take the place of Kāfūr defunct, and with orders for them to proceed.

From KANAUJ they turned southwards to the fortress of GWALIOR, which Ibn Batuta had visited previously, and had then taken occasion to describe with fair accuracy. At PARWĀN, a place which they passed through on leaving Gwalior, and which was much harassed by lions (probably tigers rather), the traveller heard that certain malignant Jogis were in the habit of assuming the form

person, as the Indo-Chinese nations do not usually employ statesmen of a high rank on foreign embassies.

¹ That work of this kind should be going on so near the capital shows perhaps that when Firishta says Mahomed's conquest of the distant provinces of Dwara-Samudra, Maabar, and Bengal, etc., had incorporated them with the empire "as completely as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi," this may not have amounted to very much after all (Briggs, i, 413).

of those animals by night. This gives him an opportunity of speaking of others of the Jogi class who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelve-month together, and afterwards revived. At Mangalore he afterwards made acquaintance with a Mussulman who had acquired this art from the Jogis¹. The route continued through Bundelkhand and Mālwa to the city of DAULATĀBĀD, with its celebrated fortress of DWAIGIR (Deogiri), and thence down the Valley of the Tapti to KINBAIAT (Cambay)².

¹ This art, or the profession of it, is not yet extinct in India. A very curious account of one of its professors will be found in a '*Personal Narrative of a Tour through the States of Rajwāra*' (Calcutta, 1837, pp. 41-4), by my lamented friend Major-General A. H. E. Boileau, and also in the *Court and Camp of Ranjīt Singh*, by Captain Osborne, an officer on Lord Auckland's staff, to which I can only refer from memory. [See *Marco Polo*, ii, 365, 369 n.]

² I will here give the places passed through by Ibn Batuta on his route from Delhi to Cambay, with their identifications as far as practicable.

DELHI.

Tilbat, 2½ parasangs from the city This is perhaps *Tilputa*, a village in the Dadri Parganah, though this is some 17 miles from old Delhi. [Mžik, p. 249, criticizes Yule but does not himself throw any new light on the subject.]

Aú Possibly *Aduh*, a Pargana town 8 miles west of Bulandshahr. [Mžik, p. 249, says it should be *Adha* or *Edha*.]

Hilú?

Beiána, "a great place," with fine markets, and of which one of the chief officers of state had been lately governor I believe no such name is now traceable. Biana, west of Agra, was a very important city and fortress in the middle ages, but is quite out of place here. [Mžik, p. 249, has Bayāna, 24 English miles west of Koil.]

Kól, a fine city in a plain surrounded by mango orchards. *Koel* [or *Koil*], commonly now known as Aligarh, from the great fort in the vicinity taken by Lord Lake [1803]. *Jalālī* still exists, 10 m. E. of Koel.

(Jalālī, the town relieved)
Burbúrah There is a village *Birjpúr* N.E. of Mainpuri, on the line between Koel and Kanauj.

From Cambay they went to KAWÉ, a place on a tidal gulf belonging to the Pagan Raja Jalansi, and thence to KANDAHAR, a considerable city on another estuary, and belonging to the same prince, who professed loyalty

- Ab-i-Siyah A Persian rendering of the name of *Kali-Nadi* (Black River), which enters the Ganges near Kanauj. Shari-uddīn gives the same name in a Turkish version, *Kara Su* (*H. de Timur Bec*, iii, 121).
- KANAUJ Well known.
- Hanau, Wazirpūr Not traced. The last a very common name.
- Bajálisah Must have been a place of some note as it gave a name to one of the gates of Delhi (iii, 149, and note, p. 461). I should suppose it must have been near the Jumna, *Etāwa* perhaps, or at *Bateswar* Ferry.
- City of Maori, Marh If the last was *Etāwa*, Maori may be *Umri* near Bhind.
- Alāpūr, ruled by an Abyssinian or Negro giant who could eat a whole sheep at once. A day's journey from this dwelt Katam the Pagan King of Jambīl There is a place, *Jaurasa Alapur*, to the W.N.W. of Gwalior, where Sir Robert Napier gained a brilliant victory over the Gwalior insurgents in 1858, but it seems too much out of the line. The Pagan king is perhaps the Rajah of Dholpūr on the *Chambal*.
- GALIŪR *Gwalior*.
- Parwān, Amwari The first may be *Panwāri* in the Hamirpūr Zillah, which would be in the line taken, if the next identification be correct.
- Kajarrā. Here there was a lake about a mile long surrounded by idol temples, and with buildings in the water occupied by long-haired Jogis Appears to be mentioned as *Kajráha* by Rashid, quoted by Elliot (p. 37), who identifies both names with *Kajrái*, on the banks of the Ken river in Bundelkhand, between Chattarpūr and Panna, which has ruins of great antiquity and interest. If so, the route followed must have been very devious, owing perhaps to the interposition of insurgent districts.
- Chanderī, a great place with splendid bazaars A well known ancient city and fortress on the borders of Bundelkhand and Mālwā, captured by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. According to the *Ayin Akbari* (quoted by Rennell) it contained 14,000 stone houses.

to Delhi, and treated them hospitably. Here they took ship, three vessels being provided for them. After two days they stopped to water at the Isle of BAIRAM, four miles from the main. This island had been formerly peopled, but it remained abandoned by the natives since its capture by the Mahomedans, though one of the king's officers had made an attempt to re-settle it, putting in a small garrison and mounting mangonels for its defence. Next day they were at KUKAH, a great city with extensive bazaars, anchoring four miles from the shore on account of the vast recession of the tide. This city belonged to another pagan king, Dunkul, not too loyal to the Sultan. Three days' sail from this brought the party abreast of the Island of SINDÁBŪR, but they passed on and anchored under a smaller island near the mainland, in which there was a temple, a grove, and a piece of water. Landing here, the traveller had a curious adventure with a Jogi, whom he found by the

- ZIHAR, the capital of Māl-wā. There were inscribed milestones all the way from Delhi to this.
- UJJAIN Well known ancient city, N.E. of Dhār.
- (Amjari, where he tells us (iii, 137) he witnessed a Suttee.) *Amjhera*, a few miles S.W. by W. of Dhār?
- DAULATĀBĀD Retains its name. It appears in Fra Mauro's map as *Deuletabet*, and in the *C. Catalana* as *Diogil* (Deogiri). *Naderbar* of Rennell, or *Nandarbār*, on the south bank of the Tāpti.
- Nadharbār. The people here and of the Daulatābād territory *Marhatas* (iv, 48, 51).
- Sāghar, a great town on a considerable river. *Saunghar* on the Tāpti.
- KINBAIAT, a very handsome city full of foreign merchants, on an estuary of the sea in which the tide rose and fell in a remarkable manner. *Cambay* [Khambāyat]. We find the *t* expressed by several of the old authors, by Marino Sanudo (*Cambeth*), by Fra Mauro (*Combait*); and much later the Jesuits of Akbar's time have *Cambaietta*.

wall of the temple¹. Next day they came to HUNAWŪR (or Onore), a city governed by a Mahomedan prince with great power at sea; apparently a pirate, like his successors in later times, but an enlightened ruler, for Ibn Batuta found in his city twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls, the latter a thing which he had seen nowhere else in his travels².

After visiting several of the northern ports of Malabar, then very numerous and flourishing, they arrived at CALICUT, which the traveller describes as one of the finest ports in the world, frequented for trade by the people of China, the Archipelago, Ceylon, the Maldives, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf³. Here they were honourably received by the king, who bore the title of *Samari*⁴ (the Zamorin of the Portuguese), and made their landing in great state. But all this was to be followed by speedy grief, as the traveller himself observes.

¹ For the identification of the places from Cambay to Hunawūr I must refer to Note B at the end of this Introduction. Assuming, as there argued, that Sindábūr was Goa [see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.], the small island was probably *Anchediva*, a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese. "In the middle of it is a large lake of fresh water, but the island is deserted; it may be two miles from the mainland; it was in former times inhabited by the Gentoos, but the Moors of Mecca used to take this route to Calicut, and used to stop here to take in wood and water, and on that account it has ever since been deserted." (*Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, Lisbon, 1812, p. 118.)

² He says the Sultan of Hunawūr was subject to a Pagan monarch called *Hariab*, of whom he promises to speak again, but does not do so, unless, as is probable, he was the same as Bilal Deo (the Raja of Karnata), of whom he speaks at iv, p. 195.

³ [Ma Huan describes Calicut (*Ku-li*) as "a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all quarters. It is three days' sail from Cochin, by which it is bordered on the south; on the north it adjoins Cannanore (K'an-nu-urh); it has the sea on the west; and on the east, through the mountains, at a distance of 500 *li* (167 miles), is the kingdom or city of K'an-pa-mei." (*J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 345.)]

⁴ [The word is Malayāl. *Sāmūtiri*, *Sāmūri*, *Tāmātiri*, *Tāmūri*, a *tadbhava* (or vernacular modification) of Skt. *Sāmundri*, "the Sea-King." *Hobson-Jobson*.]